

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02

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R 120946Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6268

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USDEL CSCE GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 3513

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, EEC, NL

SUBJECT: CSCE

REF: LOWENSTEIN/TANGUY TELECON JULY 10

1. SUMMARY: WHILE GON CONSIDERS THAT ALLIES ARE MAKING
SERIOUS MISTAKE IN AGREEING ON DATE FOR CSCE SUMMIT BEFORE
CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PHASE, IT WILL JOIN ALLIED CONSENSUS
ON JULY 30 AND NOT RAISE ANY OBSTACLES TO EARLY CONCLUSION
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OF CSCE BY INSISTING THAT EVERY REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE
DIFFERENCE BE RESOLVED BEFORE AGREEING ON DATE. DIRGEN
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS PRONOUNCED "INCIDENT" OFFICIALLY
CLOSED BUT MADE STRONG PITCH FOR TIMELY BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS

TO PREVENT THIS SORT OF MISUNDERSTANDING. END SUMMARY.

2. AS REQUESTED IN TELCON, CHARGE ON JULY 11 PICKED UP WITH DIRGEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS RUTTEN WHERE DISCUSSION WITH NETHERLANDS EMBASSY ON CSCE HAD LEFT OFF. RUTTEN REACTED STERNLY AGAINST WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS ERRONEOUS CHARACTERIZATION OF DUTCH FOOT DRAGGING AT GENEVA. HE NOTED CRISPLY THAT DUTCH WERE NOT USED TO THE HARSH TONE WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD HAD BEEN USED IN WASHINGTON TO DESCRIBE THEIR APPROACH IN GENEVA. RUTTEN WENT ON TO CHARACTERIZE AS WHOLLY UNTRUE ANY NOTION THAT DUTCH WERE "SABOTAGING" OR "VETOING" PROGRESS AT GENEVA. THE EXAMPLES WHICH DEPT. HAD CITED TO DUTCH EMBASSY HAD BEEN QUITE ERRONEOUS. ON THESE ISSUES THE DUTCH HAD, IN FACT, TAKEN NO POSITION BUT MERELY FOLLOWED THE AGREED LINE OF THE EC NINE. EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAD RESOLVED IN ROME ONLY A FEW DAYS EARLIER NOT TO AGREE ON SUMMIT DATE UNTIL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON SEVERAL REMAINING SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. SOME OF THESE REMAINED UNRESOLVED, SUCH AS RECIPROCITY IN BASKET II, FOLLOW-UP AND CBM. DUTCH IN GENEVA HAD STUCK SQUARELY TO AGREED EC-9 POSITION OF WHICH, HE SAID, US WAS WELL AWARE. RUTTEN SAID HE REGARDED THE INCIDENT AS CLOSED BUT OBSERVED IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN BETTER TO HAVE CHECKED THE FACTS FOR ACCURACY BEFORE MAKING ALLEGATIONS AS TO DUTCH BEHAVIOR AT GENEVA WHICH TURNED OUT TO BE UNFOUNDED. DUTCH ARE READY TO STAY WITH MAJORITY IN AGREEING UPON JULY 30 AS LIKELY DATE FOR CSCE SUMMIT.

3. WITH THIS SAID RUTTEN AFFIRMED THAT IT WAS A SERIOUS MISTAKE FOR THE WEST TO GIVE IN TO SOVIET DESIRE TO FIX A DATE BEFORE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES OF INTEREST TO WEST. BY AGREEING TO DATE, EST WAS THROWING AWAY ITS LEVERAGE. THERE WAS NO WESTERN INTEREST, HE ASSERTED, IN NECESSARILY HOLDING THE CONFERENCE IN JULY. THE EAST ON THE OTHER HAND DID. HE ALLUDED TO A CONVERSATION HE HAD WITH POLISH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WHO HAD VISITED THE HAGUE EARLIER IN THE WEEK, IN WHICH LATTER HAD EXPLAINED DESIRE OF SOV AND EE COMMUNIST PARTIES TO WRAP UP CSCE
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SO AS TO BE ABLE TO ANALYZE RESULTS AS PART OF PREPARATION FOR CP CONFERENCE. WHY, ASKED RUTTEN, SHOULD WEST FACILITATE THIS PROCESS. AND WHY SHOULD US NOW BE PUTTING SUCH "ENORMOUS" PRESSURES ON ITS ALLIES TO AGREE TO A DATE. WHAT WERE US RESONS? SURELY IT WAS BAD TICRICS TO BE THE FIRST TO BLINK IN A STARING MATCH WITH THE RUSSIANS.

4. CHARGE EXPRESSED THE PERSONAL OPINION THAT REPORTING FROM GENEVA MIGHT HAVE GIVEN RISE TO SOME MISUNDERSTANDING. HE SAID FROM HIS READING OF REPORTING CABLES HE WAS UNAWARE OF ANY US PRESSURE BEING APPLIED TO DUTCH IN GENEVA. IN THE HAGUE EMBASSY HAD NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED TO MAKE ANY BILATERAL DEMARCHES TO GON. PICKING UP RUTTEN'S POINT ON NEGOTIATING TACTICS,

CHARGE MENTIONED MBFR, WHERE, IN APPARENT CONTRAST TO CSCE, DUTCH WERE ANXIOUS TO MOVE THINGS ALONG FOR INTERNAL POLITICAL REASONS. RUTTEN COUNTERED THERE WERE DIFFERENCES AND REITERATED THAT, WHILE GON FELT IT WAS WRONG TO AGREE ON A DATE AT THIS JUNCTURE, DUTCH WOULD BE NOT BE STICKY AND WOULD JOIN MAJORITY CONSENSUS. HE AGAIN SAID THERE WERE NOT RUFFLED FEELINGS BUT CONCLUDED WITH STRONG PLEA FOR TIMELY BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WHICH WOULD HELP AVOID SITUATIONS OF THIS SORT.

5. COMMENT: DUTCH CSCE DEL EVIDENTLY GOT ITSELF SOMEWHAT BEHIND IN FAST MOVING DEVELOPMENTS IN GENEVA AND MAY ALSO HAVE LEFT GON AUTHORITIES IN THE HAGUE SOMEWHAT BEHIND THE ACTION. EC NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS DECISION JULY 8 TO INSIST ON SETTLEMENT OF SEVERAL ISSUES BEFORE AGREEING ON A DATE MAY ALSO HAVE TENDED TO FIX DUTCH THINKING ALONG THESE LINES AND CONTRIBUTED TO EVIDENT FEELING ON THEIR PART THAT US SEEMED HASTILY TO BE THROWING IN THE TOWEL, WHICH CHARGE ATTEMPTED TO ALLAY. UNCERTAINTY ABOUT REASONS UNDERLYING CURRENT MOMENTUM TOWARDS AGREEMENT ON SUMMIT DATE IS CLEARLY ALSO BOTHERSOME TO DUTCH AND ANY EXPLANATIONS THAT WE MAY BE ABLE TO PROVIDE TO THEIR NEGOTIATORS WHY IT IS NOW IN WESTERN INTEREST TO PROCEED WITH FIXING DATE WOULD HELP SMOOTH DUTCH FEATHERS. IN ANY EVENT, IT IS CLEAR DUTCH DO NOT WANT TO SPOIL THE GAME AND WILL STAY WITH THE MAJORITY CONSENSUS.
TANGUY

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